

Reagan's 'Brain Trust'—A Candidate Is Known by the Company He Keeps

With the GOP nomination seemingly within his grasp, Ronald Reagan has put together a star-studded cast of advisers to guide him as he seeks the presidency.

BY DOM BONAFEDE

Ronald Reagan, the former movie actor who symbolizes the affinity between show business and electronic-era politics, is surrounding himself with a star-studded supporting cast.

Already performing like the 1980 Republican presidential nominee—perhaps with good reason in view of his comfortable lead over struggling rivals—Reagan has cultivated an advisory "brain trust" composed of many of the most prominent figures in economics, domestic policy matters and national security affairs.

Included are representatives of the defense and intelligence community, such as Frank R. Barnett, president of the National Strategy Information Center; Lt. Gen. Daniel O. Graham, co-chairman of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength and former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency; and Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

From academe come Nathan Glazer of Harvard University, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick of Georgetown University and Eugene V. Rostow, a Yale University law professor.

Economists include Milton Friedman, former Federal Reserve Board chairman Arthur F. Burns and Arthur Laffer. (*For a list of key advisers, see box, pp. 674-75.*)

Reagan's congressional counselors are headed by Sen. Paul Laxalt of Nevada, his campaign chairman, and Reps. Jack F. Kemp of New York and Thomas B. Evans Jr. of Delaware.

Coordinating the advisory operations for the Reagan campaign are Richard V. Allen, president of Potomac International Corp. and former senior staff member of the National Security Council, who directs the foreign affairs and defense policy input; and Martin Ander-

son, former White House aide and Columbia University economics professor now at Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, who oversees the domestic issues area. They work with Edwin Meese, Reagan's chief of staff and principal issues adviser, under campaign manager William J. Casey.

Predictably, as the national conventions draw near, the number of candidates dwindles and the early hoopla of the campaign subsides, candidates are obliged to be increasingly specific about their policy positions. Comparative analyses are made by the news media and by recognized specialists in particular areas.

A candidate's advisers constitute a wellspring for ideas and proposals. They conduct research and instruct and brief the candidate. They keep him abreast of the latest developments in certain fields. They may suggest courses of action. And they may even recommend a particular book or research paper.

The quality and prominence of the advisers a candidate attracts reflect his political philosophy, directly bear on his leadership capability and provide a measure of credibility to his campaign.

In politics, as in other elements of society, a person is known by the company he or she keeps. So the candidate's choice of advisers tells the voters something about the office-seeker. As Anderson observed, "People around a candidate give an idea of what kind of person he is."

Many campaign advisers, almost all of whom are acknowledged authorities in their fields, possess their own special constituencies and followers and hence

may also serve as drawing cards. Conversely, a controversial figure could well be a liability instead of an asset. A candidate must therefore be careful in the advisers he chooses.

A Carter White House aide, for instance, reported that an offer by former Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, D-Minn., to help in the President's reelection campaign was rejected because of McCarthy's well-known liberal orthodoxy.

And although former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger has been in telephone contact with Reagan, he is noticeably missing from the

candidate's public list of advisers. Aides have cautioned Reagan that Kissinger would be a disruptive presence because of controversy over his conduct of U.S. foreign policy while in the White House and State Department, his long and close relationship with Richard M. Nixon

and his reported involvement with David Rockefeller in efforts to find a suitable home-in-exile for the deposed Shah of Iran.

There is also the possibility that Kissinger might outshine the candidate. One of the tacit campaign rules is that no single adviser may loom larger in the public eye than the candidate. Furthermore, policy positions must always be identified with the candidate, regardless of their origin.

Until recently, Reagan's "outside" advisers dealt with him, or through his campaign staff, in an ad hoc manner. The sudden dismissal in February of campaign manager John Sears, national political director Charles Black and press secretary James Lake led to a campaign staff reorganization and a revision in the internal operations. Whereas Sears



sought to exert tight control over access to Reagan, Casey, his successor, broadened the lines of communication to the candidate.

Then, on the eve of the Pennsylvania primary, the advisory system was, in effect, institutionalized. Reagan announced he was establishing a 12-member policy council, augmented by two groups of specialized advisers, one on foreign affairs and another on defense policy—in all, 67 “distinguished experts.”

“Their experience,” said Reagan, “will be of great assistance to me as the presidential campaign addresses issues of crucial importance to the future of our country.”

Allen said some of the advisers were Democrats or independents and that agreement to serve did not constitute political endorsement. Nonetheless, the great majority can be presumed to be Reagan supporters.

In one case, Paul H. Nitze, a former deputy Defense secretary and a leader of the Committee on the Present Danger, who is not among the 67, reported that he was available for advice to any candidate who requested it. “It doesn’t mean I’m for or against Reagan,” he said. “I have intentionally tried to address myself to issues and not personalities.”

He acknowledged, however, that Reagan’s defense policies were compatible with his own and said he expected to “see him again.”

Citing a political maxim, Anderson said, “It becomes easier to attract people once they are convinced the candidate has the nomination.” That is apparent with Reagan, considering the large number of experts anxious and willing to offer him professional advice.

It is not lost on at least some of them that if Reagan wins in November, they stand an excellent chance of being rewarded with a presidential appointment. Though many undoubtedly are motivated by a sense of public service, it is not unlikely that the personal horizons of others reach as high as a Cabinet post, a job in the White House or the directorship of a federal agency.

THE ADVISORY SYSTEM

Special advisers, normally grouped in task forces according to issues, have long been a functional ingredient of presidential campaigns. But only in recent national elections have they been expanded and refined as a campaign force.

The complexity of contemporary social and economic issues, the demands on the candidate to offer possible solutions to difficult problems and the incessant focus of the news media on the candidate’s proposed policies have made it incumbent upon presidential aspirants

to rely on the expertise of outsiders. Today, it would be almost unthinkable to wage a presidential campaign without a “brain trust.”

Anderson, who served as Nixon’s research director in the 1968 campaign, recalled that he supervised 20 issue-oriented task forces involving about 250 advisers.

Last year, he took nine months off to help set up Reagan’s advisory arm.

“I first developed an account of Reagan’s record while he was governor of California,” Anderson reported. “Next, I put together a basic issues file. This meant collecting background material for hundreds of issues. Third, I began to build up contacts among people who would agree to advise Reagan irrespective as to whether they would politically support him.”

Allen, meanwhile, started rounding up national security specialists.

Commenting on his coordinating role, Allen said: “The advisers’ views go unrestricted to the Governor. I have strong feelings about that. If they know their ideas aren’t going direct to the candidate and being considered, they aren’t likely to stay on.”

Allen, however, may send material to Reagan with a cover letter summarizing the information or directing the candidate’s attention to certain sections or even giving his opinion of the work and making recommendations.

Still another aspect of Reagan’s campaign operations involves an executive advisory committee, headed by former Treasury Secretary William E. Simon, with Michael K. Deaver, a longtime Reagan associate, as vice chairman.

“Essentially, the committee is made up of a small group of close Reagan friends who have been advising him for years,” said Deaver, a public relations consultant whose firm, Deaver & Hannaford, has offices in Los Angeles and Washington. “Its function has expanded with the campaign and it now serves as a sounding board for Reagan, recruits personnel and assists in fund raising.”

Among those on the committee, he



Franklyn (Lyn) Nofziger, longtime Reagan adviser now serving on a part-time basis: “[Reagan’s] approach to the cabinet [while governor] was, ‘You guys are my men in the departments: you’re not the department’s advocate. You will run the department as if it is mine, not yours.’”

said, are Holmes Tuttle, a wealthy California automobile dealer; Justin Dart, president of Dart Industries; William French Smith, a partner in one of California’s largest law firms and Reagan’s personal attorney; and Joseph Coors of the Coors beer family.

Once again serving as Reagan’s adviser, now on a part-time basis, is Franklyn (Lyn) Nofziger, a former Washington political reporter for the Copley newspapers and Reagan’s press secretary when he was governor. Nofziger, who had a falling out with Sears early in the campaign, left and went back to his political consulting firm. Once Sears was dropped, Nofziger was invited to rejoin.

“I’ve got commitments to my clients, but I help out whenever I can, perhaps a day or two each week,” he said.

Among the responsibilities of Meese, Allen, Anderson and others on the Reagan campaign staff is to assure that the candidate is fully briefed on issues and to deter him from making the verbal bloopers and factual misstatements for which he has become known.

Reagan also has a tendency to profess ignorance about matters that a public figure normally would be acquainted with, as with his publicized admission that he was not informed about farm parity prices.

Ronald Reagan's Foreign and . . .

Ronald Reagan won't be suffering from any lack of advisers in the domestic and national security areas.

The front-running Republican presidential candidate has formed a 12-member policy council to give him "advice and counsel on a broad range of key national policy issues," and has also named 41 foreign policy and 26 national defense advisers who, he said, would provide him with policy and research guidance during his campaign.

Heading the policy council is former Treasury Secretary William E. Simon. The other members are:

William J. Casey, former undersecretary of State for economic affairs, chairman and president of the Export-Import Bank of the United States and chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, and currently Reagan's campaign director

Alan Greenspan, chairman and president of Townsend-Greenspan & Co. Inc. and chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Ford

Rep. Jack F. Kemp, R-N.Y., chairman for policy development of the Reagan campaign

Irving Kristol, professor of social thought, New York University Graduate School of Business, and senior fellow of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (AEI)

John McKetta, professor of chemical engineering, University of Texas

William P. Rogers, lawyer and former Secretary of State and Attorney General

Donald Rumsfeld, chairman of G. D. Searle & Co. and former Defense Secretary and ambassador to NATO

George P. Shultz, president of the Bechtel Group and former Treasury and Labor Secretary and director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB)

Charles E. Walker, chairman, Charles E. Walker Associates Inc. and former Treasury undersecretary

Murray L. Weidenbaum, director, Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University, and former assistant Treasury secretary

Caspar W. Weinberger, vice president and general counsel of Bechtel Power Corp. and former Health, Education and Welfare Secretary, OMB director and Federal Trade Commission chairman

FOREIGN POLICY

Kenneth L. Adelman, senior policy analyst, SRI international, and former assistant to the Defense Secretary

Adda B. Bozeman, professor emeritus of international relations, Sarah Lawrence College

W. Glenn Campbell, director of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University

Lev Dobriansky, economics professor, Georgetown University

Peter Duignan, senior fellow and director of African and Middle East studies, the Hoover Institution

Charles H. Fairbanks, assistant professor of political science, Yale University, and fellow, AEI

Roger W. Fontaine, director of Latin American studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University

Jeffrey B. Gayner, director of foreign policy studies, the Heritage Foundation

Nathan Glazer, professor, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University

Mose L. Harvey, director of the Advanced International Studies Institute, University of Miami

Rita E. Hauser, attorney and former U.S. representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights

Fred C. Ikle, consultant and former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

David C. Jordan, professor of government and foreign affairs, University of Virginia

Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, professor of government, Georgetown University, and resident scholar, AEI

Ernest W. Lefever, professor of government, Georgetown University

Carnes Lord, assistant professor of government and foreign affairs, University of Virginia

Edward N. Luttwak, research professor, Georgetown University, and senior fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University

Charles Burton Marshall, consultant on foreign policy and former member of the State Department policy planning staff

Constantine Christopher Menges, consultant to the Hudson Institute

Henry R. Nau, associate professor of political science, George Washington University

Robert G. Neumann, senior research fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University and former ambassador to Afghanistan and Jordan

Robert Osgood, professor, School of Advanced International Studies, and director of the security studies

This has always been characteristic of Reagan. During a controversy over the size of a proposed national redwoods park in California, while he was governor, Reagan is reported to have stated: "A tree's a tree. How many do you have to see?"

In an admittedly non-objective book, *Reagan, the Political Chameleon* (Praeger 1976), former California Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown suggests that Reagan's semantic lapses are attributable to his dependence on "quick and simple answers to the complex questions of government and society." Brown, a Democrat, further notes that "Reagan is used to working from a script. He is a

'quick study,' as they say in the acting business, and he made a very handsome living for years playing roles that required only that he memorize his lines, not plumb beneath them for hidden meanings, subtleties or nuances."

Brown, defeated for reelection by Reagan in 1966, may have been guilty of a personal bias, but other Reagan watchers have observed the same qualities.

The current practice, as laid down by Casey, who has become a more forceful campaign manager than anticipated, is to have one or more issues specialists travel with Reagan at all times. This is in addition to Meese, who accompanies Reagan almost constantly. The assign-

ment may go to Anderson or Allen, or others such as Roger W. Fontaine of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies and a member of a newly appointed panel of foreign policy advisers.

"We will be doing more cycling of people on the campaign plane," said Allen. "It will depend on the issues."

Recently hired to assist Meese on the campaign circuit was James Brady, a veteran press-public relations adviser, who had previously worked for former budget director James T. Lynn, Sen. William V. Roth Jr., R-Del., and John B. Connally during his unsuccessful bid for the GOP nomination. Brady will

... Defense Policy Brain Trust

- program, The Johns Hopkins University
- Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jr.**, professor of international politics, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University
- Walter L. Pforzheimer**, former legislative counsel to the Central Intelligence Agency
- Richard E. Pipes**, professor of history, Harvard University
- Uri Ra'anana**, chairman of the international securities studies program, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
- Edward Rozek**, professor of comparative government, University of Colorado
- Pedro A. Sanjuan**, director, Hemispheric Center, AEI
- Frank Shakespeare**, president of RKO General Inc. and former director of the U.S. Information Agency
- Laurence H. Silberman**, executive vice president, Crocker National Bank and former ambassador to Yugoslavia and deputy Attorney General
- Richard F. Starr**, director of the international studies program, Hoover Institution
- William L. Stearman**, professor and director of the Russian studies program, Georgetown University
- Robert Strausz-Hupe**, former ambassador to NATO, Sweden and Belgium
- Raymond Tanter**, professor of political science, University of Michigan, and fellow, the Wilson Center, Smithsonian Institution
- James D. Theberge**, international business consultant and former ambassador to Nicaragua
- Robert W. Tucker**, professor of political science, The Johns Hopkins University
- Charles E. Walker**
- Richard L. Walker**, director of the Institute of International Studies, University of South Carolina
- Richard J. Whalen**, author, and business consultant and chairman of Wires Ltd.
- Aaron Wildavsky**, professor of political science, University of California (Berkeley)
- Curtin Winsor Jr.**, associate director, Alliance for Free Enterprise
- DEFENSE**
- Frank R. Barnett**, president, National Strategy Information Center
- David A. Burchinal**, retired Air Force general and former deputy commander in chief, U.S. Forces in Europe
- Joseph Churba**, president, Institute for International Security
- Jacquelyn K. Davis**, consultant and strategic analyst
- John Davis**, retired Army lieutenant general and former assistant director of the National Security Agency
- Russell E. Dougherty**, retired Air Force general and former commander in chief, Strategic Air Command
- Leon Goure**, associate director, Advanced International Studies Institute, University of Miami
- Daniel O. Graham**, co-chairman of the Coalition for Peace Through Strength and former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency
- Walter F. Hahn**, defense analyst
- Martin R. Hoffman**, attorney and former Army Secretary
- Peter C. Hughes**, defense analyst
- William R. Kintner**, professor of political science, University of Pennsylvania, and former ambassador to Thailand
- Charles M. Kupperman**, defense analyst
- John F. Lehman Jr.**, president of the Abington Corp. and former deputy director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
- J. William Middendorf II**, president of Financial General Bankshares Corp. and former Navy Secretary
- Thomas H. Moorer**, retired admiral and former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
- Patrick J. Parker**, chairman, National Security Affairs Department, U.S. Naval Postgraduate School
- Jeffrey Record**, consultant and strategic analyst
- Edward L. Rowny**, retired Army lieutenant general and former Joint Chiefs of Staff representative to SALT negotiations
- William R. Schneider**, consultant to The Hudson Institute
- Harriet Fast Scott**, consultant and writer on Soviet military affairs
- William F. Scott**, consultant and writer on Soviet military affairs
- William R. Van Cleave**, director of the Institute for International Studies, University of Southern California
- John W. Vogt Jr.**, retired Air Force general and former commander in chief, U. S. Air Forces in Europe
- Lewis Walt**, retired general and former commandant of the Marine Corps
- Seymour Weiss**, vice president of the Abington Corp. and former ambassador to the Bahamas

focus on the issues and help deal with the press.

A WHITE HOUSE AGENDA

Not unnaturally, Reagan, who has had his eye on the White House for more than four years, has made plans should he arrive there.

Notwithstanding Reagan's assaults on federal social welfare programs and big government in general, Allen predicted, "He will not go to Washington with animosity toward the federal bureaucracy."

He would, however, seek conceptual changes in the governmental structure, especially in the national defense, foreign

policy and intelligence sectors.

"My own view is that he would replace the foreign policy machinery down to the assistant secretary level," Allen said. Singled out for a complete overhaul, according to Allen's scenario, would be the National Security Council's staff operations and its characteristically competitive relations with the State Department.

"Do we need a huge NSC staff in the White House?" Allen asked. "Is it a policy maker or a policy facilitator? Maybe its 150 or so people ought to be put back into the federal bureaucracy, giving the State Department a new lease on life."

He questioned whether a President

"should be inundated with the latest cable traffic and overburdened in sheer volume of minute-to-minute details. Should he not be allowed to concentrate on longer range, critical problems worthy of presidential attention?"

"There is latent bureaucratic strength in the department. Why should there be a competing organization within the White House, one that constitutes a massive backchannel?"

Reagan, in line with similar projections, would also reestablish "a strong economic component" within the foreign policy-national security complex somewhat like the defunct Council on International Economic Policy. Es-

established as an executive agency by President Nixon in 1971 to coordinate the work of U.S. agencies dealing with foreign economic affairs, the council was disbanded early in the Carter Administration.

A second executive agency discontinued by Carter, the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, would also likely be revived by Reagan. The panel, created by President Eisenhower in 1956, was intended to review the various activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and other units within the American intelligence community. In abolishing the board in May 1977, Carter maintained that its work was rendered redundant by monitoring services performed by the NSC and the Senate Intelligence Committee.

A forceful advocate of a strengthened U.S. military posture, Reagan is reported to favor an enhanced role for the Joint Chiefs of Staff in defense strategy planning, as well as greater involvement in policy development by the Defense

State Department that would review matters of mutual concern to the three North American countries and help establish and implement North-South accords.

PAST PERFORMANCE

One of the unresolved political questions is whether the campaign and a candidate's past performance as a public figure offer satisfactory clues to his probable behavior as President.

"They approach it but you don't get a complete picture," said political analyst Richard M. Scammon. "They give an indication of how a candidate handles himself under fire, how organized he is and how he feels about certain issues. But the presidency is so unique, so unduplicated that you can't get a perfect picture. A candidate's record and previous service can sometimes be deceiving. Look at Harry Truman! But it all helps."

Be that as it may, Reagan aides and associates stress that he hasn't changed

to listen and delegate authority. While governor, he met with the cabinet members about once a week and they would talk and kick things around. His approach to the cabinet was, "You guys are my men in the departments; you're not the department's advocate. You will run the department as if it is mine, not yours, and this is administration policy and you will carry it out."

Despite the fact that both Reagan and Carter aspired to the presidency without having had Washington experience and that each assumes a rather aloof attitude toward the nitty-gritty of politics, Reagan aides insist that if he reaches the White House, he will not make the same mistakes that Carter has in the past three years.

"One of the things Paul Laxalt and I feel strongly about is that the errors of the Carter Administration aren't repeated," said Schweiker, who serves as Reagan's Northeast campaign coordinator. "Every time Gov. Reagan comes to Washington, we hold a meeting with his initial supporters on the Hill and with prospective supporters for the specific objective of establishing liaison with Congress."

Deaver recalled that one of the first moves by the Reagan forces in Sacramento "was to get together with a bunch of old political hands who knew how to deal with the Legislature; I assume it would be the first thing we would do in Washington. We certainly would not ignore the legislators like Carter."

Anderson and Nofziger are convinced that a lack of direct Washington experience would not hurt Reagan politically.

"So much depends on having a good staff and Cabinet," Nofziger said. "If they know what they're doing they'll sit down with the congressional leadership. The California Legislature comes closest to being similar to the U.S. Congress; it works full time, has a big staff and a lot of research assistance. And Reagan's people got along with the Legislature while he was governor."

In response to questions about Reagan's lack of foreign policy experience, Nofziger noted, "Jerry Ford didn't have foreign experience when he became President."

Besides, argues Anderson, the debate over Washington experience is a specious one. If experience were so important, he said, "the ideal President would come into office after having been Vice President, Secretary of State, a U.S. Senator, a Member of Congress and be 35 years old. He just doesn't exist."

"Reagan has spent a lot of time in and around Washington and he knows many people there. That's indicated by the people he has around him." □



Richard V. Allen coordinates foreign affairs and defense policy advice for Ronald Reagan: "The advisers' views go unrestricted to the Governor."

Department's international security affairs office, which is involved in formulating and coordinating defense policies in the international political, military and economic spheres, including arms control and disarmament.

In the foreign policy area, Reagan is examining the feasibility of creating a sort of "council of elders," retired ambassadors and veteran foreign service officers whose professional background and breadth of information could be mobilized in times of national emergency.

He would also consider efforts to improve U.S. relations with its neighbors, Canada and Mexico, by establishing an office of continental affairs within the

much over the past several years and that many of the characteristics he exhibited as governor of California would probably carry over into the White House, should he make it there.

Sen. Richard S. Schweiker, R-Pa., selected by Reagan as his prospective running mate in the 1976 campaign, said the candidate is "comfortable in delegating responsibility. . . . He works easily with his staff and listens to the pros and cons of subordinates. He doesn't crowd them or unduly assume authority."

Nofziger, who worked closely with Reagan for many years, similarly observed: "He understands the use of the Cabinet and personal staff. He's willing